

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 151803

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OAS

SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE

REFERENCES: A. STATE 133032 B. GUATEMALA 3218

1. WE ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO MEANING OF MOLINA STATEMENT REPORTED REF. B AND FBIS TO EFFECT THAT GUATEMALA INTENDS TO ABSTAIN FROM VOTING AT SAN JOSE CONFERENCE. EVERY INDICATION WE HAVE HAD FROM GUATEMALA IN THE OAS CONTEXT HAS BEEN THAT THEY WOULD PARTICIPATE AND VOTE IN THE CONFERENCE. AS PART OF OUR PREPARATION FOR SAN JOSE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO CLARIFY GUATEMALAN VIEWS AND TO ENSURE THAT GUATEMALA UNDERSTANDS USG APPROACH TO CUBAN ASPECTS OF THAT MEETING. TO THAT END, REQUEST THAT AMBASSADOR SEEK EARLY OPPORTUNITY FOR CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSION WITH MOLINA.

2. FBIS REPORTS A MOLINA STATEMENT THAT GUATEMALA WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE IF CUBA ATTENDED. WE SUSPECT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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WHOLE MATTER MIGHT BE RELATED TO PANAMA/PERU-LED DISCUSSIONS IN OAS ON THIS SUBJECT. IF SO, AMBASSADOR MIGHT POINT OUT THAT WE SEE THE PANAMA/PERU STATEMENTS AS A PUBLICITY PLOY, THAT WE DO NOT EXPECT SERIOUS EFFORT TO PERMIT CUBAN PARTI-

CIPATION, AND WE ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO SUCH PARTICIPATION. AMBASSADOR MIGHT ALSO NOTE THAT COSTA RICA HAS VIGOROUSLY DENIED ANY INTENTION TO ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE CUBA.

3. WITH RESPECT TO CUBAN ASPECTS OF MEETING, AMBASSADOR MIGHT REMIND MOLINA THAT DURING OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WE SAID:

-- UNITED STATES WISHES TO COOPERATE IN FINDING WAYS TO AVOID DIVISIONS AMONG US AND THAT CUBA SANCTIONS REMAIN A SOURCE OF DIVISION IN THE HEMISPHERE.

-- SANCTIONS HAD BEEN IMPOSED FOR GOOD REASONS IN 1964, BUT LATER CAME TO BE A SOURCE OF CONTENTION AND EVEN OF ACCUSATIONS THAT THE U.S. HAD IMPOSED THEM, WHICH WAS NOT THE CASE.

-- AT QUITO, WE TOOK A NEUTRAL STANCE. HAD THERE BEEN 14 VOTES THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED THE DECISION, BUT THE RESOLUTION FAILED TO ACHIEVE THE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY.

-- BUT CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE CHANGED AND THE RIO TREATY CONFERENCE IN SAN JOSE WILL CERTAINLY APPROVE THE CEESI RECOMMENDATION TO CHANGE THE VOTING REQUIREMENT FROM TWO-THIRDS TO A MAJORITY IN RESPECT OF LIFTING SANCTIONS. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, MANY HAVE SUGGESTED THAT ONCE A PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT IS APPROVED WE SHOULD FIND A SOLUTION TO THE SANCTIONS ISSUE THAT ACCOMMODATES THE VARIOUS INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE.

4. PLEASE ADD THAT IN ROGERS' RECENT TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEES ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND COMMERCE AND ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HE SAID: QTE ONCE A PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT IS APPROVED, IT IS LIKELY THERE WILL BE AN EFFORT TO END THE MANDATORY OAS SANCTIONS. AS THE SECRETARY INDICATED AT HOUSTON, THE U.S. STANDS READY TO CO-CONFIDENTIAL

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OPERATE IN REACHING A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. WE ARE CONTINUING OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE OAS ON HOW TO HANDLE THE ISSUE. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SENTIMENT AMONG THE MEMBER STATES THAT A WAY SHOULD BE FOUND TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE, WHICH WILL BE IN THE REVISED TREATY, WITH RESPECT TO THE EXISTING MEASURES AGAINST CUBA AND WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE LENGTHY PROCESS OF RATIFICATION TO RUN ITS COURSE. IF THE MEMBERS CAN TRANSLATE THAT VIEW INTO A RESOLUTION, WE CAN ANTICIPATE ACTION AT THE MEETING AT SAN JOSE WHICH WILL FINALLY AND EFFECTIVELY TAKE CUBA OFF THE MULTILATERAL AGENDA AND LEAVE EACH NATION FREE TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF WHETHER OR NOT TO CONDUCT TRADE AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CUBA. UNQTE.

5. PLEASE DISCUSS THIS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER. YOU CAN INFORM HIM IN CONFIDENCE THAT US WOULD SUPPORT CONVOKING AN ORGAN OF CONSULTATION AT SAN JOSE FOLLOWING APPROVAL OF THE PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT TO THE RIO TREATY IF THE OTHER MEMBERS DESIRE IT. FURTHERMORE, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD NOT TAKE THE LEAD WE WOULD BE WILLING TO SUPPORT A FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA WHICH WAS BUTTRESSED BY A STRONG REFERENCE TO NONINTERVENTION. (THE QTE CONFERENCE OF plenipotentiaries UNQTE CAN DEAL ONLY WITH TREATY AMENDMENT.) PLEASE REPORT HIS VIEWS PROMPTLY. KISSINGER

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